

Message Text

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 3100

E.O. 11652: GDS

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SUBJECT: NPG-JUNE 3 PERMREPS MEETING

REF: A. USNATO 2937

B. STATE 112991

C. USNATO 2996

SUMMARY: AT JUNE 3 MEETING, NPG PERMREPS APPROVED THE DRAFT PERM REPS REPORT ON THE FOLLOW-ON USE WORK PROGRAM. SEVERAL PERMREPS CALLED ATTENTION TO THE IMPORTANCE AND POLITICAL SENSITIVITY OF THE RECOMMENDED APPROACH TO PHASE III INVOLVING THE PREPARATION OF A CONSOLIDATED STATEMENT ON NATO'S CONCEPT FOR THE USE OF THEATER NUCLEAR WEAPONS. PERMREPS ALSO DISCUSSED DESIRABILITY OF KEEPING HEADS OF GOVERNMENTSS INFORMED OF DEVELOPMENTS IN ALLIANCE NUCLEAR POLICY. IN DISCUSSION OF SYG LUNS PO ON NPG FUTURE WORK, PERMREPS AGREED THAT SECTION ON NUNN AMENDMENT FOLLOW-ON STUDIES SHOULD INCLUDE A STATEMENT THAT NO WITHDRAWAL OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS SHOULD BE ACCOMPLISHED PRIOR TO APPROPRIATE DECISIONS WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF MBFR. IN CONNECTION WITH DISCUSSION OF NPG WORK PROGRAM, AMBASSADOR BRUCE ASSURED PERMREPS THAT US WOULD CONSULT FULLY WITH
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THE ALLIES ON NUNN AMENDMENT FOLLOW-ON STUDIES. COMMENT.
ALTHOUGH PANSAs DID NOT GO INTO DETAILS IN PERMREPS SESSION, IS AGREED WITH US PRIOR TO MEETING TO REVISE THE LANGUAGE IN PARA 6 OF SYG LUNS' PO IN THE MANNER REPORTED TO WASHINGTON IN REF C.

END COMMENT. ACTING SYG PANSA CALLED ATTENTION TO NEED TO DECIDE ON THE DATE AND LOCATION OF THE FALL NPG MINISTERIAL WHICH FRG HAS OFFERED TO HOST. END SUMMARY.

1. ACTING SYG PANSA INTRODUCED DISCUSSION OF THE DRAFT PERM REPS REPORT ON FOLLOW-ON USE WORK PROGRAM BY NOTING SOME OF THE IMPORTANT POLICY ISSUES THAT IT AND THE PHASE II STUDY TEAM REPORT RAISE WHICH WILL REQUIRE ATTENTION IN PHASE III, E.G., RELATION BETWEEN INITIAL USE AND FOLLOW-ON USE; HOW NATO CAN PROVIDE EVIDENCE OF ITS RESOLVE THROUGH ESCALATION; SCALE OF USE; AND THE INTRODUCTION OF PAUSES BETWEEN INITIAL AND FOLLOW-ON USE AND IN SUBSEQUENT STAGES OF FOLLOW-ON USE.

2. DRAPF (FRG) SAID THAT THE PHASE II STUDY EFFORT REVEALS THAT IN A NUCLEAR CONFLICT, THE REESTABLISHMENT OF DETERRENCE REQUIRES UNAMIGUOUS AND CONVINCING SIGNAL, AND THAT NATO MUST BE PREPARED FOR THE POSSIBLE CONSEQUENCES. HE SAID THAT TARGETS, SCALE OF USE, AND TIMING REQUIRE CAREFUL ATTENTION, BUT THAT THE POLITICAL SIGNALING EFFECT IS DOMINANT. HE NOTED THAT THE PHASE II STUDY HAD NOT EXAMINED THE RELATION BETWEEN THEATER OPTIONS AND LIMITED STRATEGIC OPTIONS, BUT THAT A CLOSE LINK BETWEEN THE TWO IS ESSENTIAL. HE AGREED WITH PHASE II STUDY CONCLUSIONS THAT NATO MUST PROVIDE ADEQUATE CONVENTIONAL FORCES. FINALLY, HE NOTED THAT TIMELY USE IN AN EXTENDED GEOGRAPHICAL AREA IS OF FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE, AND THAT WHILE SUCH USE CARRIES RISKS OF ESCALATION, THE RISKS ACCOMPANYING OTHER USES ARE NOT SMALLER.

3. MENZIES (CANADA) SAID THE DRAFT PERMREPS REPORT ON PHASE II STRUCK THE RIGHT BALANCE. IT RECOGNIZED THE LIMITATIONS OF PHASE I STUDIES, BUT ITS CONCLUSIONS, PARTICULARLY THAT NUCLEAR WEAPONS CANNOT COMPENSATE FOR INADEQUATE CONVENTIONAL FORCES, WERE GOOD. MENZIES SAID HIS AUTHORITIES SUPPORT THE PROPOSAL FOR A BROAD APPROACH TO PHASE III, AND BELIEVE THAT IT IS TIMELY FOR THE NPG TO PAUSE AND REFLECT, AND TO DRAW TOGETHER ALL OF THE RELEVANT POLICY DOCUMENTS AND STUDIES ON USE OF THEATER NUCLEAR FORCES.

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4. PECK (UK), REFERRING TO MENZIES COMMENTS, SAID PHASE III WOULD PROVIDE OPPORTUINIY FOR REFLECTION, BUT THAT INITIATION OF WORK SHOULD NOT BE DELAYED. PECK SAID, IN REFERENCES TO THE DRAFT PERMREPS REPORT, THAT THE SECOND FOOTNOTE TO PARA 18 SHOULD REFER TO BOTH MC 161/74 AND MC161/75. ADMIRAL HILL-NORTON (CHAIRMAN, MC) SAID THIS WOULD BE APPROPRIATE AND PERMREPS AGREED TO THIS CHANGE.

5. HARTOGH (NETHERLANDS) SAID HE THOUGHT THE DRAFT PERMREPS REPORT WAS A GOOD DOCUMENT. HE SAID THAT WHAT IS IMPORTANT NOW IS WHAT HAPPENS IN PHASE III. HE THOUGHT THIS EFFORT WOULD TAKE 1-2 YEARS, AND NOTED THAT PERMREPS WOULD BE CALLED ON TO PREPARE AN OUTLINE OF THE PHASE III PROJECT BEFORE THE END OF

THE YEAR. PANSA, REFERRING TO HARGOGH'S LATTER POINT, SAID THAT NPG PERMREPS MUST FACE PROBLEM OF NOT ONLY DEVELOPING THE TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR PHASE III, BUT ALSO THE SENSITIVE QUESTION OF THE ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY.

6. DE STAERCKE (BELGIUM) SAID HE THOUGHT THE DISCUSSION OF LIMITATIONS IN PARA 7 OF DRAFT PERMREPS REPORT WAS VALID. HE SAID THAT IT IS IMPORTANT RECOGNIZE THAT THE NPG WILL BE FACED WITH PROBLEM IN PHASE III OF DEVELOPING GENERAL GUIDELINES BASED ON INCOMPLETE KNOWLEDGE. DE STAERCKE CALLED ATTENTION TO THE POLITICALLY SENSITIVE ASPECTS OF THIS NEW EFFORT. HE SAID ALLIES MUST REALIZE THAT A WHOLE PHILOSOPHY IS BEING DEVELOPED THAT IS CRITICAL IN ITS OWN RIGHT, AND HAS SENSITIVE PUBLIC OPINION ASPECTS. HE RECALLED THE DISCUSSIONS AT THE SUMMIT OF THE IMPORTANCE OF ACHIEVING PUBLIC UNDERSTANDING AND SUPPORT.

7. PANSA AGREED WITH DE STAERCKE ON PROBLEMS OF DEVELOPING GENERAL GUIDLINES BASED ON INCOMPLETE KNOWLEDGE, AND SAID ALLIES DO NOT WANT TO REACH A STAGE OF "FROZEN" GUIDELINES. HE SAID POLICY IN THIS AREA IS DYNAMIC AND EVOLUTIONARY, AND THAT ALLIES CAN NEVER EXPECT TO REACH A FINAL END. PECK SUPPORTED THIS VIEW, QUOTING A STATEMENT BY LORD CARRINGTON THAT IT IS "BETTER TO TRAVEL HOPEFULLY THAN TO ARRIVE.".

8. DE STAERCKE, TAKING UP THE THEME AGAIN OF TASKS THE NPG IS EXPECTED TO UNDERTAKE, SAID THAT WORK TO DATE IN THE NPG IN THIS AREA HAS BEEN GOOD, AND THAT FOREIGN MINISTERS AND HEADS OF GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE MADE AWARE OF DEVELOPMENTS IN ALLIANCE NUCLEAR
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POLICY. PECK AGREED THAT THIS WORK HAS A LONG HISTORY, AND SAID THAT PURPOSE OF PHASE III WOULD BE TO PUT THE WHOLE THING IN PERSPECTIVE. HARTOGH SAID THE SUBJECT IS AN EXTREMELY DIFFICULT ONE, THAT ALL OF THE PAST STUDIES HAVE BEEN BASED ON HYPOTHESES, AND THAT HE DIDN'T KNOW IF IT WAS FEASIBLE TO DRAW CONCLUSIONS. HE SAID, HOWEVER, THAT THE MAIN THING HE WOULD WISH TO DRAW TO THE ATTENTION TO HIS PRIME MINISTER, WHO TENDED TO VIEW THIS SUBJECT IN OVERLY SIMPLE TERMS, IS THE COMPLICATED NATURE OF ROLE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. PANSA SAID THAT DE STAERCKE HAD RAISED AN INTERESTING POINT FOR CONSIDERATION BY MINISTERS, AND NOTED THAT MOD'S SHOULD KEEP THE HEADS OF GOVERNMENT INFORMED OF IMPORTANT SUBJECTS SUCH AS THIS.

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9. BRUCE(US), DRAWING ON GUIDANCE IN REF B, SAID THAT HIS AUTHORITIES, IN AUTHORIZING HIM TO JOIN OTHERS IN SUPPORTING THE RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE CONDUCT OF PHASE III, HAD ASKED HIM TO SAY THAT SINCE THE WORK AHEAD WILL INEVITABLY TOUCH ON IMPORTANT AREAS OF ALLIANCE POLICY, THE US ATTACHES GREAT IMPORTANCE TO A CAREFUL PHASE III TASK DEFINITION, WHICH THE PERMREPS WILL BE CALLED ON TO PREPARE AFTER THE MONTEREY NPG MEETING. PANSO ECHOED THESE SENTIMENTS.

10. HILL-NORTON COMMENDED THE DEPTH OF DISCUSSION IN THE PHASE II STUDY TEAM REPORT AND DRAFT PERMREPS REPORT. HE AGREED WITH THE RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE CONDUCT OF PHASE III. HE SAID HE HOPED THAT PHASE III WOULD DEAL WITH THE FINE DISTINCTION BETWEEN INITIAL USE, FOLLOW-ON USE, DEMONSTRATIVE USE, AND WAR-FIGHTING USE. HE SAID HE THOUGHT THE LINEAGE OF USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS WITH THE CONVENTIONAL BATTLE NEEDS TO BE CAREFULLY SPELLED OUT. HILL-NORTON AGREED THAT HEADS OF GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE WELL INFORMED OF THE TASK THE ALLIANCE IS UNDERTAKING IN PHASE III. HE SAID THAT MILITARY CONSEQUENCES OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS USE SHOULD BE ASSESSED BEFORE

FINAL DIRECTIVES ARE ISSUED. HE ALSO SUPPORTED THE VIEW THAT
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ALLIES CAN NEVER ACHIEVE A FINAL RESULT IN DEVELOPING DOCTRINE, WHICH IS A DYNAMIC AND EVOLUTIONARY PROCESS.

11. MENZIES, REFERRING TO AN ARTICLE IN THE MAY 31 EDITION OF LE MONDE ON FRENCH TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS, SAID THE NPG MUST BEAR IN MIND THE NEED TO KEEP OUR FRENCH ALLY INFORMED OF ALLIANCE THINKING ON NUCLEAR POLICY. HE RECOGNIZED THIS COULD NOT BE DONE DIRECTLY IN NPG, BUT HE PRESUMED THE FRENCH ARE OR SHOULD BE KEPT INFORMED BILATERALLY BY THE US, UK, FRG, OR BY SHAPE. MENZIES SAID THAT SHOULD THE NEED EVER ARISE FOR RAPID DECISION-MAKING, THE ALLIANCE WOULD NOT WANT TO LEAVE THESE MATTERS UNTIL THE LAST MOMENT.

12. PANSA, TURNING TO DISCUSSION OF SYG LUNS' PO ON THE NPG FUTURE WORK PROGRAM (REF C), REFERRED TO PARAGRAPHS 3-6 ON NUNN AMENDMENT FOLLOW-ON STUDIES, AND CALLED ATTENTION TO THE DISTRIBUTION ON JUNE 2 OF THE NIKE HERCULES STUDY TO NPG PERMREPS. HE SAID THAT SYG LUNS WLD REFLECT IN HIS REVISED PO THAT RESULTS OF ANY FURTHER NMA STUDIES ON NUNN AMENDMENT FOLLOW-UP WILL BE GIVEN ANY NECESSARY POLITICAL CONSIDERATION BY THE NPG. PANSA ALSO NOTED IN CONNECTION WITH PARA 7 ON ILLUSTRATIVE STUDIES, THAT THE SHAPE AIR DEFENSE STUDY WAS NOT INCLUDED ON THE MONTEREY AGENDA IN ORDER TO HOLD DOWN THE NUMBER OF ITEMS FOR MINISTERIAL DISCUSSION, WHICH HOWEVER, DID NOT PRECLUDE EVENTUAL CONSIDERATION OF THE STUDY IF NPG COUNTRIES SO DESIRED.

13. HILL-NORTON NOTED THE SUBSTANTIAL AMOUNT OF NPG WORK SET FORTH IN SYG LUNS' PO, AND SAID HE THOUGHT THE MONTEREY MEETING SHOULD RESULT IN A CLEAR IDEA OF PRIORITIES. HE SAID THAT, IN HIS VIEW, THE TECHNOLOGY STUDY SHUD HAVE FIRST PRIORITY, SINCE IT COULD HAVE IMPORTANT IMPLICATIONS FOR THE WHOLE COMPLEX OF QUESTIONS SURROUNDING TACTICAL USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, AS WELL AS FOR USE OF NEW CONVENTIONAL MUNITIONS. HE THOUGHT PHASE III SHOULD BE NEXT IN PRIORITY, ALTHOUGH HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT IT MIGHT BE INITIATED BEFORE THE TECHNOLOGY STUDY WAS COMPLETED. HE THOUGHT THAT FURTHER ILLUSTRATIVE STUDIES SHOULD AWAIT COMPLETION OF PHASE III. ON THE QUESTION OF FURTHER WORK RELATED TO COMMUNICATING NATO' INTENTIONS, HILL-NORTON SAID IT WAS HIS PERSONAL VIEW THAT THERE WAS LITTLE VALUE IN ADDITIONAL STUDY OF THE USE OF "WARNING MESSAGE," A VIEW WHICH HE THOUGHT WAS SHARED BY OTHER

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NATO MILITARY AUTHORITIES. HE SAID HE THOUGHT THAT THE DEPLOYMENT OF 7000 WEAPONS, NATO'S QRA POSTURE, ETC, CONVEYED ADEQUATE WARNING TO THE WARSAW PACT. PECK AGREED WITH THIS POINT. HE SAID THAT NPG WOULD NEED TO DECIDE WHETHER TO PROCEED WITH STUDY OF "WARNING MESSAGES" OR DROP THE IDEA. HE SAID HE PERSONALLY WAS INCLINED TOWARD THE LATTER.

14. PECK SAID, IN CONNECTION WITH THE NIKE HERCULES STUDY, THAT ANY ADJUSTMENTS IN WARHEAD LEVELS SHOULD NOT CONFLICT WITH MBFR CONSIDERATIONS. DE STERCKE SAID THIS POINT WAS NOT REFLECTED IN SYG LUNS' PO, AND THOUGHT IT SHOULD BE. PECK AGREED, AND SUGGESTED THAT A GENERAL STATEMENT ON MBFR ALONG THE LINES THAT SACEUR MADE IN HIS COVER LETTER TO THE MIKE HERCULES STUDY SHOULD BE INCORPORATED IN THE PO. PANSA SAID IT WOULD BE DONE. MENZIES SAID THAT, AS IN MBFR, IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION IN CONNECTION WITH POSSIBLE REDUCTIOS IN NUCLEAR WARHEADS IS PUBLIC PERCEPTION OF UNDIMISHED SECURITY. PANSA AGEED THIS WAS AN IMPORTANT POLITICAL ASPECT, BUT NOTED THAT IF SACEUR DETERMINES THAT THERE CAN BE REDUCTIONS, HE MUST CONCLUDE THAT THERE IS NO DIMINISHING OF SECURITY FROM A MILITAR STANDPOINT.

15. CATALANO(ITALY) SAID HE RECALLED THAT THE US HAD SAID THAT

IT WOULD KEEP THE ALLIES FULLY INFORMED ON THE STATUS OF ANY PLANS FOR NUNN AMENDMENT FOLLOW-ON STUDIES, AND ASKED IF SECRETARY SCHLESINGER

WOULD ADDRESS THEM AT NPG MINISTERIAL MEETING. BRUCE REPORTED THAT HE WAS UNAWARE OF SECRETARY SCHLESINGER'S PLANS FOR ADDRESSING NUNN AMENDMENT STUDIES, BUT THAT HE WAS CERTAIN THE US WOULD CONSULT FULLY WITH ALLIES. KRAPF SAID THAT IS IS IMPORTANT TO KEEP ALLIES INFORMED. HE NOTED THAT THE NPG WAS NOT FORMALLY REQUESTED TO COMMENT ON THE NIKE HERCULES STUDY, AND SAID HE THOUGHT THIS SHOULD BE DONE WITH OTHER STUDIES IN THE FUTURE.

16. UNDER ANY OTHER BUSINESS, PANSA RAISED THE QUESTION OF THE NEXT NPG MINISTERIAL MEETING. HE NOTED THAT FRG HAD EXPRESSED INTENTION TO INVITE THE NPG TO MEET IN GERMANY IN THE FALL OF 1975. HE SAID HE HOPED MOD LEBER WOULD BE ABLE TO SUGGEST A DATE AND LOCATION AT THE MONTEREY MEETING. KRAPF SAID HE COULD CONFIRM THE FACT OF THE INVITATION, AND THAT DATES AND LOCATION WOULD BE DISCUSSED LATER.

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17. COMMENT. LIVELY INTEREST IN NUNN FOLLOW-UP WORK POINTS OUT NEED FOR SECDEF, AT MONTEREY, TO REVIEW CURRENT U.S. THINKING FOR ALLIES.

END COMMENT

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